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The War

THIRD MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

ADDRESS BY THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE¹

[Released to the press January 15]

The peoples of the Americas face today the greatest danger which they have ever confronted since they won their independence.

We are meeting together under the terms, and in the spirit, of inter-American agreements to take counsel as to the course which our governments should take under the shadow of this dire threat to our continued existence as free peoples.

We meet as the representatives of nations which in former times have had their differences and controversies. But I believe that I may speak for all of us, and not least in the name of my own Government, when I say that we all of us have learned by our past errors of omission and of commission. We are assembled as representatives of the 21 sovereign and independent republics of the American Continent, now welded together as no continent has ever before been united in history, by our faith in the ties of mutual trust and of reciprocal interdependence which bind us and, most of all, by our common devotion to the great cause of democracy and of human liberty to which our New World is dedicated.

The calamity which has now engulfed humanity was not unforeseen by any of us.

Just five years ago, at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, of Buenos Aires, we met because of the clear signs that the earth would be engulfed by the tidal

wave of a world-wide war. By common accord we determined upon measures indispensable to our common security. At the Inter-American Conference at Lima further measures were taken. After the war broke out, at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers at Panamá and Habana, the American republics adopted additional far-reaching measures of protection and of cooperation for their common safety.

We were thus in many ways prepared for that eventuality from which we then still hoped we might be spared—the involvement of the Americas in the war which has been forced upon mankind by Hitlerism.

I regard it as my obligation here on behalf of my Government to inform you with complete frankness of the course which it had pursued up to the time when, on Sunday, December 7, my country was suddenly attacked by means of an act of treachery that will never be forgotten by the people of the United States, nor, I believe, by the people of any of the other American republics.

My Government was never blind to the ultimate purposes and objectives of Hitlerism. It long since realized that Hitler had formulated his plans to conquer the entire world. These plans, the plans of a criminal paranoiac, were conceived before he had even seized power in Germany. They have been carried out step by step, first through guile and deceit, later by fire and sword. No evil has been too monstrous for him. No infamy has been too vile for him to perpetrate.

¹ Delivered by Mr. Welles, who is United States representative, on January 15, 1942 at the opening session of the Meeting at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Time and again, as you all know, the President of the United States, with your knowledge and with your approval, made every effort in earlier years by fervent appeal and by constructive and just proposal to avert the final holocaust.

All of us learned a bitter lesson in those years between 1936 and 1941.

We learned by the tragic experience of others, that all of those standards of international decency and of international law, upon which the hopes of a law-abiding and a peaceful world were based, were utterly disregarded by Hitler and by his ignominious satellites.

Those free nations who sought ingenuously, by the very innocence of their conduct and by the very completeness of their neutrality, to maintain at least the shadow of their independence were occupied more promptly and ravaged more cruelly than those who resisted the attack of Hitler's armies.

We have been taught this lesson, which it took all of us a long time to learn, that in the world of today, confronted by Hitlerism and all of the black reversion to barbarism which that evil word implies, no nation can hope to maintain its own independence and no people can hope to maintain its liberty, except through the power of armed might and through the courage and devotion of men and women in many lands and of many races, but who all of them love liberty more than life itself.

The people of the United States learned that lesson.

And for that reason, because of their determination to defend their country and to safeguard the security of our common continent, they determined to lend every form of assistance to that gallant band of nations who against great odds continued nevertheless to defend their own liberties.

We had learned our lesson so clearly that we saw that the defense by these peoples of their independence constituted likewise the defense of our own independence and of that of the Western Hemisphere.

Then suddenly, last June, Hitler, distraught by the realization that he could no longer at-

tempt successfully to invade Great Britain, but intoxicated by the easy victories which he had achieved in other parts of Europe, perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union with which he had only recently entered into a pact of non-aggression.

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

Many months ago Japan entered into the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. My Government learned that this arrangement, which made of Japan the submissive tool of Hitler, for the primary purpose of preventing the United States from continuing to give assistance to Great Britain, was not supported by certain elements in Japan. These elements clearly foresaw the ultimate destruction of Japan if the Japanese Government dared to embark upon an adventure which would ultimately bring Japan into conflict with all of the other powers which had direct interests in the western Pacific.

These elements in Japan also realized that, while Hitler had been able to inveigle the war lords in control of the Japanese Government into believing that should Japan carry out German orders, and were the Western democracies defeated, Germany would permit Japan to control the Far East, Hitler would of course take her spoils from Japan whenever he saw fit.

My Government sought over a period of more than ten months to negotiate with Japan a peaceful and equitable adjustment of differences between the two countries so as to prevent the outbreak of war in the Pacific.

The United States, however, utterly refused to agree to any settlement which would infringe upon the independence or the legitimate rights of the people of China, who for four and a half years had been bravely and successfully resisting every effort on the part of Japan to conquer their ancient land. Nor would the United States agree to any proposal offered by the Japanese Government which would contravene those basic principles of right and justice for which, I am proud to say, my country stands.

We now know that at the very time that the present Japanese Government was carrying on, at its own urgent request, the pretense of con-

ducting peaceful negotiations with the United States for the purpose of reaching a settlement which would have averted war, every plan in its uttermost detail had already been made to attack my country's territory.

During those last two weeks before December 7, when Japan's notorious peace emissary was protesting to my Government that his country desired nothing except peace and profitable commercial relations with the United States, the airplane carriers were already on their way to Pearl Harbor to launch their dastardly attack upon the United States Navy.

The Japanese war lords, under the orders of their German masters, adopting the same methods of deceit and treachery which Hitler has made a stench in the nostrils of civilized mankind, while peace negotiations were actually still in progress in Washington, suddenly attacked a country which had been Japan's friend and which had made every honorable effort to find a basis for a just and lasting peace in the Pacific.

A few days later Germany and her satellites declared war upon the United States.

And so war has been forced upon some of us in the American Continent.

The greatest assurance that our great association of sovereign and independent peoples, the American family of nations, can survive this world upheaval safely lies in the unity with which we face the common peril.

Some of us by our own power, by our own resources, by the extent of our population, are able successfully beyond the shadow of a doubt to defend ourselves. Others of us who do not possess these material advantages, equal though they be in their courage and in their determination to resist aggression, must depend for their continued security upon the cooperation which other members of the American family may give them. The only assured safety which this continent possesses lies in full cooperation between us all in the common defense; equal and sovereign partners in times of aggression as in times of peace.

The record of the past two years is ever before us. You and I know that had there ex-

isted during the past decade an international order based upon law, and with the capacity to enforce such law, the earth today would not be subjected to the cruel scourge which is now ravaging the entire globe. Had the law-abiding and peaceful nations of Europe been willing to stand together when the menace of Hitlerism first began to become manifest, Hitler would never have dared to embark upon his evil course. It was solely because of the fact that these nations, instead of standing together, permitted themselves to hold aloof one from the other and placed their hope of salvation in their own neutrality, that Hitler was enabled to overrun them one by one as time and circumstances made it expedient for him.

The security of the three hundred millions of people who inhabit the Western Hemisphere and the independence of each of the countries here represented will be determined by whether the American nations stand together in this hour of peril, or whether they stand apart one from the other.

I am fully aware of what the representatives of the Axis Powers have been stating to some of you, day in and day out during the past months. I know that Hitler's representatives have said to some of you that Germany has not the slightest thought of dominating the Western Hemisphere. All that Germany wants, they have told you, is complete domination over every part of Europe, of Africa, and of the Near East, the destruction of the British Empire, the enslavement of the Russian people, the overlordship of the Far East, and when this is accomplished, only friendship and peaceful trade with the Americas.

But Hitler's representatives have omitted to mention that in such a fateful contingency we would all of us then also be living in a Hitler-dominated world.

You may remember that a few days ago Hitler publicly denounced President Roosevelt as the greatest war-monger of all times, because the President had declared that the people of the United States "did not want to live in the type of world" that Hitler wished for.

In a Hitler-dominated universe not one of

us could trade except on Hitler's terms. Not one of us could live except under a *gauleiter* appointed for us by Hitler. Not one of us could educate our children except as Hitler dictated. Not one of us could enjoy our God-given rights to think and to speak freely and to worship the Deity as our conscience may dictate.

Can even Hitler wonder that we are not willing to live in such a world as that?

I know what representatives of Japan have been saying to some of you. They are telling you that the Japanese Government is sure that the governments and peoples of the American republics will certainly not be influenced by any thought that Japan may harbor ulterior motives towards them. They are telling you that Japan desires nothing but peace with you and the maintenance of profitable commercial relations.

You will remember that they told us that also!

The Japanese Government is even telling you that they are soon going to send ships to the Pacific ports of South America to take cargoes of your goods.

But they did not add that were some Japanese ship to be foolhardy enough to attempt to make such a trip, it would not be able to travel many miles after leaving the port of the Americas to which it had gone, except under the naval custody of Japan's adversaries.

But there is no useful purpose to be served by our dwelling on the lies with which the Axis Governments still attempt to deceive us. We all of us know that no sane man can place the slightest shred of credence in any solemn or sworn assurance which the Axis Governments give.

We likewise know full well that the sole aim, the ultimate objective of these partners in crime, is conquest of the surface of the entire earth, the loot of the possessions of every one of us, and the subjugation of free men and women everywhere to the level of serfs.

Twelve months ago Hitler solemnly assured the German people that before the end of the year 1941, Germany would complete the defeat of all her enemies in the greatest victory of all time.

On October third last Hitler swore to his people that before the first of the New Year of 1942 Russia would be crushed, "never to rise again".

What are the facts? Today the German armies are retreating from Russian territory, routed and dispersed by the magnificent offensive of the Russian armies. Hitler has lost over one third of his air force, over one half of his tank force, and more than three million men. But more than that, the German people now see for themselves the utter falsity of the promises held out to them by the evil charlatan who rules them. Their morale is running low.

In North Africa the British armies have utterly destroyed the Axis forces in Libya and are clearing the Southern Mediterranean littoral of Axis threats.

In the Atlantic the British and United States convoys are moving ever more safely to their destinations, and the loss of merchant shipping through German submarine action has steadily diminished during the past six months.

In the Far East the United States and Great Britain have met with initial reverses.

We all remember that as a result of the Washington Limitation of Armaments Conference of 1922 the powers directly interested in the Far East, in order to assure the basis for peaceful relations between them, pledged themselves not to increase the fortifications of their possessions in that area. During all of the years that the treaties agreed upon at that Conference remained in effect the United States consequently took no steps to fortify the Philippines. But we also now know that, counter to her sworn obligations, Japan during these same years was creating naval bases and feverishly constructing fortifications throughout the islands of the South Seas which she had received as a mandate from the League of Nations.

Furthermore, at the request of the Philippine people the Government of the United States had pledged itself to grant full independence to them in the year 1946.

The infamous attack by Japan upon the United States consequently found the Philippine Islands largely unfortified, and protected solely by a modest army of brave Filipino sol-

diers, supported by only two divisions of United States troops, with a small air force utterly inadequate to withstand the concentrated strength of the Japanese.

But the control of the Pacific Ocean itself rests with the Allied fleets. Japan, after suffering disastrously in her four-year-long war with China, is surrounded on all sides. She possesses no resources. Once the *matériel* which she is now using is destroyed it can only be replaced by what Japan herself can produce. And that replacement will be inferior in quality, and small in quantity without the raw materials which Japan will now be largely unable to secure.

The commencement of the year 1942 has marked the turn of the tide.

The United States is now in the war. Our industrial production, the greatest in the world, is fast mounting towards the maximum. During the coming year we will produce some 60,000 airplanes, including 45,000 military airplanes, some 45,000 tanks, some 300 new combatant ships, from the mightiest battleships to coastal patrol craft, and some 600 new merchant ships. We will attain a rate of 70,000 per year in the training of combat airplane pilots. We have drafted for military service all of our men between the ages of 20 and 44 years, and of this great total we will soon have an initial army of three million men fully trained and fully equipped. We will spend 50 billions of dollars, or half of our total national income, in the year thereafter in order to secure the use of every ounce of our national resources in our war effort. Every weapon that we produce will be used wherever it is determined that it may be of the most service in the common cause, whether that be here in the Western Hemisphere, on the deserts of Libya, on the steppes of Russia, or in the territory of the brave people of China.

Those of us who have joined in this holy war face a ruthless and barbarous foe. The road before us will be hard and perhaps long. We will meet unquestionably with serious reverses from time to time. But the tide has turned and will run swiftly and ever more swiftly until it ends in the flood of victory.

As each one of you knows, my Government has made no suggestion, and no request, as to the course which any of the governments of the other American republics should pursue subsequent to the Japanese attack upon the United States, and the declaration of war upon it by the other Axis Powers.

We do not function in that way in the American family of nations.

But may I assure you from my heart today that the spontaneous declaration of war upon the enemies of mankind of nine of the other American republics; the severance of all relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan by Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela; and the official declarations of solidarity and support by all of the other American republics, including our traditional and unfailing friend, in evil days as well as good, the great Republic of Brazil, whose guests we all are today, represents to my Government and to my fellow citizens a measure of support, of strength, and of spiritual encouragement which no words of mine would be adequate to express.

May I merely say that these acts of faith in our common destiny, so generously realized, will never be forgotten by the people of the United States. They have heartened us all. They have made us all, all the more anxious to be worthy, not in words but in deeds, of your confidence. They have made us all the more desirous of showing our gratitude through the extent of the cooperative strength which we can furnish to insure the ultimate triumph of the cause to which we are dedicated.

Each one of the American governments has determined, and will continue to determine, in its own wisdom, the course which it will pursue to the best interest of its people in this world struggle. But of one thing I feel sure we are all convinced. In accordance with the obligations we have all undertaken under the provisions of our inter-American agreements and in accordance with the spirit of that continental solidarity unanimously proclaimed, those nations of the Americas which are not engaged in war will never permit their territory to be used by agents of the Axis Powers in order that these

may conspire against, or prepare attacks upon, those republics which are fighting for their own liberties and for those of the entire continent.

We all of us are fully aware of the record of the activities of Axis agents in our several countries which the past two years have brought to light. We know how the Axis diplomatic representatives, taking advantage of the immunity which international custom has granted them for their legitimate functions, have been doing their utmost to poison inter-American relations; to create internal discord; and to engender domestic strife, so as to try and pave the way for subversive movements financed with funds obtained through extortion from residents in our midst, or transferred from the loot they have procured in the occupied countries of Europe. We know that their so-called consular officials have in reality been the directing heads of espionage rings in every part of this hemisphere. The full history of this record will some day be published in full detail, when the divulging of this information will no longer be of assistance to the enemy.

So long as this hemisphere remained out of the war all of our governments dealt with this ever-increasing danger in the manner which they believed most effective, exchanging intelligence one with the other, as existing agreements between them provide, whenever such exchange was mutually helpful.

But today the situation has changed. Ten of the American republics are at war and three others have severed all relations with the Axis Powers. The continued presence of these Axis agents within the Western Hemisphere constitutes a direct danger to the national defense of the republics engaged in war. There is not a Japanese nor a German consul, nor a consul of Hitler's satellite countries, in the New World at this moment who is not reporting to his superiors every time a ship leaves the ports of the country where he is stationed, for the purpose of having that ship sunk by an Axis submarine. There is not a diplomatic representative of the Axis Powers anywhere in the Americas who is not seeking to get for his masters information regarding the defense preparations of the

American nations now at war; who is not conspiring against the internal security of every one of us; who is not doing his utmost, through every means available to him, to hinder our capacity to insure the integrity of our freedom and our independence.

Surely this danger must be of paramount concern to all of us. The preeminent issue presented is solely that those republics engaged in war shall not be dealt a deadly thrust by the agents of the Axis ensconced upon the soil and enjoying the hospitality of others of the American republics.

The shibboleth of classic neutrality in its narrow sense can, in this tragic modern world, no longer be the ideal of any freedom-loving people of the Americas.

There can no longer be any real neutrality as between the powers of evil and the forces that are struggling to preserve the rights and the independence of free peoples.

It is far better for any people to strive gloriously to safeguard its independence; it is far better for any people to die, if need be, in the battle to save its liberties, than by clinging to the tattered fiction of an illusory neutrality, to succeed only by so doing in committing suicide.

Our devotion to the common cause of defending the New World against aggression does not imply necessarily engagement in war. But it does imply, I confidently believe, the taking of all measures of cooperation between us which redound to the great objective of keeping the Americas free.

Of equal importance with measures of political solidarity, defense cooperation, and the repression of subversive activity are economic measures related to the conduct of war against the aggressor nations and the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

All of the American republics have already taken some form of measures breaking off financial and commercial intercourse between them and the non-American aggressor states and to eliminate other alien economic activities prejudicial to the welfare of the American republics.

It is of the utmost importance that these measures be expanded in order that they may pre-

vent all business, financial, and trade transactions between the Western Hemisphere and the aggressor states, and all transactions within the Western Hemisphere which directly or indirectly redound to the benefit of the aggressor nations or are in any way inimical to the defense of the hemisphere.

The conduct of war and the defense of the hemisphere will require an ever-increasing production of the implements of war and an ever-increasing supply of the basic and strategic materials necessary for their production. The spread of the war has cut off many of the most important sources of strategic materials, and it is essential that the American republics conserve their stocks of such commodities and, by every possible means, encourage the production and the free flow within the hemisphere of the greatest possible quantity of these materials.

The universal character of the war is placing increasing demands upon the merchant-shipping facilities of all of us. The increased production of strategic materials will be of no avail unless adequate transportation can be provided, and it is consequently of vital importance that all of the shipping facilities of the Americas be mobilized to this essential end.

The Government of the United States is prepared to cooperate whole-heartedly with the other American republics in handling the problems arising out of these economic warfare measures. It stands prepared to render financial and technical assistance, where needed, to alleviate injury to the domestic economy of any of the American republics which results from the control and curbing of alien economic activities inimical to our common defense.

It is ready to enter into broad arrangements for the acquisition of supplies of basic and strategic materials, and to cooperate with each of the other American republics in order to increase rapidly and efficiently their production for emergency needs. Finally, it stands ready through the United States Maritime Commission to render every assistance in the efficient operation of merchant vessels in accordance with the plan of August 28, 1941 of the Inter-

American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.¹

My Government is also fully aware of the important role which imported materials and articles play in the maintenance of the economies of your nations. On December 5, 1941 I advised the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee in Washington that the United States was making every effort consistent with the defense program to maintain a flow to the other American republics of materials to satisfy the minimum essential import requirements of your economics. I added that the policy of my Government was being interpreted by all of the appropriate agencies as calling for recognition of and provision for the essential needs of the American republics equal to the treatment accorded United States civilian needs.

The attack by Japan and the declarations of war by the other members of the Tripartite Pact have resulted in greater and unprecedented demands upon our production facilities. But I am able to state today, as I did on the fifth of December, that the policy of the United States toward the satisfaction of your essential requirements remains firm.

On December 26, 1941 after the outbreak of war, the Board of Economic Warfare of my Government resolved unanimously:

"It is the policy of the Government of the United States to aid in maintaining the economic stability of the other American Republics by recognizing and providing for their essential civilian needs on the basis of equal and proportionate consideration with our own."

Pursuant to this declaration of policy our allocation of 218,600 tons of tin-plate for your needs during this year has been followed by further allocations, which I am privileged to announce today. The Office of Production Management has advised me that allocations have been made to you for the next quarter in amounts adequate to meet your needs for rayon; for twenty essential agricultural and industrial chemicals, including copper sulphate, am-

¹ *Bulletin* of August 30, 1941, p. 165.

monium sulphate, soda ash, and caustic soda; for farm equipment; and for iron and steel products.

In addition, I am able to announce that a special mechanism has been organized within the Office of Production Management which is now facilitating the clearance of your individual priority applications.

In the light of this action, it seems appropriate to recognize that the arsenal of democracy continues mindful of its hemisphere responsibilities.

I am confident that your people will join the people of the United States, who are sharing their civilian supplies with you, in recognizing that military and other defense needs must continue to be given precedence over civilian demands.

All of these economic measures relate directly to the conduct of war, the defense of the hemisphere, and the maintenance of the economies of our several nations during the war emergency. Obviously our greatest efforts must be extended towards victory. Nevertheless, the full consummation of victory must include the building of an economic and social order in which all of our citizens may subsequently enjoy the blessings of peace.

My Government believes that we must begin now to execute plans, vital to the human defense of the hemisphere, for the improvement of health and sanitary conditions, the provision and maintenance of adequate supplies of food, milk, and water, and the effective control of insect-borne and other communicable diseases. The United States is prepared to participate in and to encourage complementary agreements among the American republics for dealing with these problems of health and sanitation by provision, according to the abilities of the countries involved, of funds, raw materials, and services.

The responsibility with which we are all charged requires that we plan for broad economic and social development, for increased production of the necessities of the world, and for their equitable distribution among the people.

If this economic rehabilitation of the world is to take place it is indispensable that there be a resurgence of international trade—international trade, as was declared by the Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Habana, "conducted with peaceful motives and based upon equality of treatment and fair and equitable practices".

I urge upon you all the imperative need for unity between us, not only in the measures which must presently be taken in the defense of our Western World, but also in order that the American republics, joined as one, may prove to be the potent factor which they should be of right in the determination of the nature of the world of the future, after the victory is won.

We, the American nations, are trustees for Christian civilization. In our own relationships we have wished to show scrupulous respect for the sovereign rights of all states; we have sought to undertake only peaceful processes in the solution of controversies which may have arisen between us; and we have wished to follow the course of decency and of justice in our dealings with others.

When peace is restored it is to the interest of the whole world that the American republics present a united front and be able to speak and act with the moral authority to which, by reason of their own enlightened standards as much as by reason of their number and their power, they are entitled.

The prayer of peoples throughout the world is that when the task of peacemaking is once more undertaken it will be better done than it was in 1919. And we cannot forget that the task this time will be infinitely more difficult than it was the last time.

In the determination of how these stupendous problems may best be solved, the united voice of the free peoples of the Americas must be heard.

The ideals which men have cherished have always throughout the course of history proved themselves to be more potent than any other factor. Nor conquest, nor migrations; nor economic pressure, nor pestilence; nor revolt, nor assassinations have ever yet been able to tri-

umph over the ideals which have sprung from men's hearts and men's minds.

Notwithstanding the hideous blunders of the past generation; notwithstanding the holocaust of the present moment, that great ideal of "a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free" still stands untarnished as the supreme objective of a suffering humanity.

That ideal will yet triumph.

We, the free peoples of the Americas, must play our full part in its realization so that we may hasten the day when we can thus insure the maintenance of a peaceful world in which we, and our children, and our children's children, can safely live.

At this time the issue is clearly drawn. There can be no peace until Hitlerism and its monstrous parasites are utterly obliterated, and until the Prussian and Japanese militarists have been taught in the only language they can understand that they will never again be afforded the opportunity of wrecking the lives of generation upon generation of men and women in every quarter of the globe.

When that time comes men of good-will must be prepared and ready to build with vision afresh upon new and lasting foundations of liberty, of morality, of justice, and, by no means least perhaps, of intelligence.

In the attainment of that great achievement the measure of our devotion will be the measure of the world's regeneration.

BUSINESS WORKS TO WIN THE WAR

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press January 15]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Any great gathering of Americans today is mainly interested in a single question: What can each of us do toward winning the war, and toward winning the peace after the war? This Association is a great group of merchants. But today you meet as servants of America and as soldiers for the ideals America represents.

When merchants met in peacetimes they could think chiefly of their interests as merchants. But in time of war you have stopped being merchants. You are part of the service of supply of the Nation. A store is no longer merely a commercial enterprise. It is part of the machinery on which the country must rely and does rely in seeing to it that its people get the goods they need.

A modern war means that even a country as powerful and rich as our own must devote every possible fragment of its economic strength to production of war supplies. Necessarily this means that civilians will not have as many

things as they are ordinarily used to having. This means that arrangements have to be made so that every one gets his fair share and not more than his fair share. We call this "rationing". In great measure this has to be done by enlisting the services of merchants and stores, big and little.

We have not been used to this sort of thing in the United States. We have been accustomed to let every one buy anything he wanted and as much as he wanted. We have been accustomed to encourage merchants to sell as much as they could, and the more the better. In recent history we have never known a time when the factories behind the stores, when the mines and farms behind the factories, could not produce more than the country was able to consume. Now we have to change all that, because the farm and the mine and the factory will be turning a great part of their production toward equipping fleets and armies and airfields and battleplanes. They will continue to work until the last shred of Axis militarism is wiped off the face of the earth. During that time you and I will be steadily cutting down our wants

¹ Delivered before the National Dry Goods Association, New York, N. Y., January 15, 1942.

by finding ways of making life more simple. We shall find it hard to do; but we shall take it and we shall like it, because all of us know that the life of our country and the life of each of us as individuals is at stake.

For we have reached one of those periods in history in which there can be no compromise. Some of us have known this for a long time. The last doubt in anyone's mind vanished about noon on December 7, 1941, when the news of the unforgettable treachery at Pearl Harbor came.

But we are compelled to do something more than defend our own nation and our own lives. We are also compelled to fight for and maintain an international life in which nations do not and cannot act as gangsters. Every one of us knows now that we cannot be safe in a world which does not recognize rules of justice and law. We shall never be safe or quiet or at peace until nations no longer find it healthy to try to get what they want by dive-bombing and murder, usually without warning.

We are already taking our part in constructing the new international fabric. That structure came into being on another historic date—January 1, 1942—with the signature by 26 countries of the Declaration by United Nations. In that moment the greatest union of nations known to history was brought together in a common cause.

The Declaration by United Nations, it is true, united these many peoples in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to enslave the world. These countries intend and propose the final defeat of Hitler and his imitators in Japan. They propose to do more than merely to defeat their common enemies. They have announced that they will set up a state of affairs in which those who follow us will have less to fear and more to hope. They have outlined a plan in which men and women will once more be equipped to make their own way in the world and to stand unafraid in God's good sunlight.

The 26 United Nations and others who may join them agreed to the program known as the Atlantic Charter—forged on a warship in the

Atlantic last summer. That charter is, in substance, an international Bill of Rights.

It outlaws imperialism. The era of attempted domination must end.

It abandons territorial changes, except as these accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

It requires respect for the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and it proposes restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The Atlantic Charter likewise sets forth that these nations propose to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to necessary trade and raw materials.

It proposes collaboration between all nations to secure improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.

And, when final victory shall have been achieved, it proposes that the resulting peace shall afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. Finally, it proposes disarmament of nations which have threatened or may threaten aggression, and a lightening of the crushing burden of armaments.

The Declaration by United Nations thus is more than a necessary agreement to pool efforts for war. It is an agreement—the widest ever achieved in history—in a common struggle, for a common plan, based on a common ideal.

It is appropriate to observe that this is a wider application of the same principles which have been the foundation of the great American family of nations for many years. As long ago as 1933 Secretary Hull, at Montevideo, outlined a similar set of ideals and purposes as the basis on which 21 American republics could live in peace, could work without fear, and could help each other in the age-long struggle of men to improve their position. Through the years the American family of nations has made, on this firm base, steady progress toward the common end.

I like to think that a similar agreement on ideals and purposes has united that other great

family of nations which we know as the British Commonwealth—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

And I am glad to remember that more than a century ago a famous Spanish-American statesman, Bolívar, dreamed of a time when agreement between an American family of nations and the British group, together with the countries of Europe, would give at last the basis of a firm and enduring peace. Were he alive today he would include, without doubt, the great protagonist of democracy in the Far East, China, whose indomitable will and whose moral strength have made her a fortress of freedom.

But these great ideals will not be realized by agreements of statesmen. They become real only as you and I in our daily lives can make them real by the work of our hands.

All of this is based on a single simple idea. Civilization as we see it is based on individual men and women, hundreds of millions of them, who seek in freedom to attain the best of themselves. Our fathers stated this in religious terms. They said that all men were children of God; that therefore all men were brothers; and that because of this every man was obliged to use his life so that the men and women with whom he came into contact were freer and happier. The political terms of today do not change the essential idealism.

This places on each of us a heavy obligation. It is required that each of us examine the daily work that we do; that we try to see that the moves we make cause people to be more free, more healthy, less afraid, and more able to make a contribution to the common cause, in war or in peace.

It means that we must put aside individual ambitions, individual desires for power, individual desire to dominate. Every act and purpose must be tested by whether it increases the abilities and stature of the people around us toward a common ideal and aim. This is a great responsibility.

All of us have the natural human desire to get ahead of the game. If there is not enough to go around, save in small amounts, all of us have a natural human wish to hoard goods ahead

and come out better than our neighbors. This we cannot do. The hoarder is merely depriving someone else of his fair share.

Wherever there is a chance to assure that small business can continue in existence, we are under obligation to try to handle our policies so that the small business can continue to exist. We need the small free businesses and the small free businessmen.

Wherever the policies either of business or of labor prevent labor from making a full contribution to the common effort, those policies are not compatible with the ideals for which we are bound to fight and by which we can and will achieve victory.

We cannot accept methods either of finance or business organization which restrict production or employment, or which withhold either from the country in war or from the people in civil life the goods necessary to win a war or to live at peace.

The Government can assist by wise law and regulation. But the greatest reliance must be placed on the knowledge which individual men have of the problems in their own communities, and their willingness to keep every wheel moving by generous assistance to their fellows. Every businessman knows that there are endless ways in which he can help his neighbor and endless ways in which he can make trouble for his neighbor. Today the choice is already made; and that choice will win the war, as it will win the peace. At the beginning of each day everyone ought to say to himself, "What can I do to increase production, to help equitable distribution, and to assist my neighbors and colleagues to do the same?" And at the end of each day each of us ought to ask himself, "What have I done in the common cause?"

The value of freedom is that it never dies. We have seen great military machines built up on despotism. We have seen them achieve temporary success, and they may have further temporary success. But we know that they are headed for disaster. This war is a war of peoples who insist on their freedom—not only freedom as nations, but also freedom as men—freedom in spirit, freedom in economic life. The

time to make those freedoms real is now, and not later.

The Axis dictators in a great counterrevolution have endeavored to assault the foundations not only of civilization and nationhood but even of manhood. They have regarded as their enemy every human being who has not ceased to have a heart and a head. There can be no compromise. There will be but one outcome—our complete victory and a realization of the ideals of that victory. In justice we can accept no less.

We are all fellow workers in that common cause, whatever we do or wherever we are. We have the high privilege of bearing a part of the great tradition of the history of America, and with it a great part of the fate of the coming world. I am glad of the sacrifices we shall have to make. We are not beggars asking for a share of the world's goods. We are a great company of free men taking the part of men in a time which calls for men to make a world in which men may freely live.

AMERICANS IN THE FAR EAST

[Released to the press January 13]

According to a telegram received in the Department through the Swiss authorities, the members of the staff of the American Consulate General at Seoul, including Consul General Harold B. Quarton, of Algona, Iowa, Vice Consul Arthur B. Emmons, 3d, of Boston, Mass., and Interpreter William R. Mayers, of Lebanon, Pa., are in good health.

The following information concerning the status of American nationals in Indochina and Thailand has just been made available to the Department through the French authorities at Vichy:

Mr. O. Edmund Clubb, of South St. Paul, Minn., former American Consul detailed to Hanoi, has been transferred from Hanoi to Haiphong and is now confined in a building belonging to the Standard-Vacuum Oil Co. He will soon be more comfortably housed in the

premises of the Chartered Bank of India, which is situated in the center of the town.

At Saigon, former American Consul Sydney H. Browne, of Baltimore, Md., who had previously been confined to his residence, and former American Vice Consul Kingsley W. Hamilton, of Wooster, Ohio, are now confined in the residence of the British Consul General. Certain Asiatic employees of the American Consulate have been authorized to keep in touch with their employers.

Japanese troops occupied the premises of the former American Legation and Consulate General at Bangkok on the morning of December 9, 1941. Since that date telephone communications have been cut and radio sets confiscated, and the former American Minister, Mr. Willys R. Peck, and his staff have been confined to the Legation. All American citizens, with the exception of the staffs of the Legation and Consulate General, have been concentrated by the Thai authorities in the School of Political Science, where living conditions are said to be primitive but fairly comfortable and where they may receive visitors. The Thai authorities have sequestered American firms, and the Thai Ministry of Economy has taken over the direction of their administration.

ITALIAN, RUMANIAN, AND BULGARIAN OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press January 14]

The Italian Embassy staff and the staffs of the Rumanian and Bulgarian Legations are being concentrated, preparatory to their departure from the United States, at White Sulphur Springs. Bulgarian consular officials are also being concentrated at White Sulphur Springs.

ALIEN ENEMIES

A proclamation prescribing additional rules and regulations governing the conduct of natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects, 14 years

old or more, of countries at war with the United States was signed by the President on January 14, 1942. The proclamation orders all such alien enemies within the continental United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands to apply for and acquire a certificate of identification at times and places to be fixed by the Attorney General. The Attorney General is authorized and directed to provide for receiving such applications, for issuing the certificates, and for making the necessary rules and regulations. After the date or dates fixed by the Attorney General for the completion of such registration, enemy aliens will be required to carry the identification cards at all times. The full text of the proclamation (no. 2537) is printed in the *Federal Register* for January 17, 1942, page 329.

PROCLAIMED LIST OF CERTAIN BLOCKED NATIONALS, SUPPLEMENT 7

[Released to the press January 15]

The Secretary of State acting in conjunction with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Board of Economic Warfare, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, issued on January 15 Supplement 7 to the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals.

This supplement covers the addition of approximately 1,800 names for Portugal and possessions, Spain and possessions, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. With the exception of one case no names are added in this supplement for the other American republics. Seventeen deletions from the Proclaimed List are made in this supplement in the other American republics.

American Republics

JOINT MEXICAN - UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMISSION

[Released to the press January 12]

The Governments of Mexico and the United States, in identical statements handed to the press on March 4, 1941, announced that conversations were being held in Washington between the military, naval, and aeronautical attachés assigned to the Mexican Embassy and representatives of the Government of the United States, to discuss the aid that the two countries would extend to each other in case of aggression against either of them.

Unfortunately this case has now arisen, and in view of the existing situation the two Governments have found it expedient to establish a mixed defense commission to study the problems relating to the defense of the two countries and to propose to the respective Governments the measures which should be adopted.

This commission, which will be called the Joint Mexican - United States Defense Commission, will be composed of Brig. Gen. Miguel S. González Cadena and Brig. Gen. Tomás Sánchez Hernández, of the Mexican General Staff, as representatives of Mexico; Lt. Gen. Stanley Dunbar Embick and Vice Admiral Alfred Wilkinson Johnson as representatives of the United States.

The Commission will meet in Washington as soon as General Sánchez Hernández completes his mission as a member of the Mexican delegation to the Third Meeting of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics at Rio de Janeiro.

At their first meeting the members will formulate a program and procedure for their activities and will decide where succeeding meetings will be held.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION: CUBA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, HAITI, AND MEXICO

Formation of National Commissions in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico brings to 20 the number of commissions established by the Inter-American Development Commission in its program for the stimulation of Western Hemisphere trade and the development of resources. Outstanding business, professional, and technical men are appointed to these commissions, the membership of the four most recently formed being as follows:

Cuba

José Manuel Casanova, Senator of the Republic; President of the Asociación de Haciendados de Cuba; *Chairman*

Ramón Crusellas, industrialist; *Vice Chairman*

Dr. José Ignacio de la Cámara, Director of the Banco del Comercio

León Aisenstein, industrialist

Teodoro Santiesteban, Secretary General of the Asociación de Colonos de Cuba, sugar producers

Eduardo Montouille, former Minister of Finance; at present Director General of Funds for Public Works; *Secretary*

Dominican Republic

Marino E. Cáceres, Minister of Agriculture and Industries; *Chairman*

Agustín Arísty, official in the Department of Public Works; *Vice Chairman*

Eduardo Soler, Jr., Government official

Ernesto B. Freites, prominent businessman

Francisco Martínez Alba, prominent businessman

Frank Parra, Chief of the Commercial Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Secretary*

Haiti

Abel Lacroix, Minister of Finance; member of the Board of the Banque Nationale d'Haiti; *Chairman*

Joseph Nadal, merchant and agriculturist; *Vice Chairman*

Edouard Estève, member of the Board of the Banque Nationale d'Haiti

Alfred Vieux, Senator of the Republic; industrialist
Serge Defly, former Minister to Great Britain; businessman

Clovis Kernizan, Solicitor of the Ministry of Foreign affairs; delegate to the Economic Conference in London, 1933, and to the Pan American Conferences at Buenos Aires and Lima; *Secretary*

André Lioutoud, member of the Board of the Société Haitianu-Americanaine de Développement Agricole (the agricultural corporation organized with the assistance of the Export-Import Bank); *General Adviser*

Mexico

Eduardo Villaseñor, Director General of the Bank of Mexico; *Chairman*

Evaristo Araiza, General Manager of Compañía Fundidora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey; Director of the Bank of Mexico; industrialist; *Vice Chairman*

Aaron Sáenz, former Minister of Foreign Affairs; former Ambassador; Presidente of Azúcar, S.A., a large sugar mill

Carlos Sánchez Mejorada, general representative of Compañía de Real del Monte y Pachuca, important mining enterprise; Director of Credito Minero

Jorge Gaxiola, general representative of Compañía Pesquera de Tepolobampo, a large fishing industry, and of Compañía Financiera del Golfo de Cortés, an industrial company

Manuel Tello, consultant in Mexican Foreign Service; *Secretary*

The Inter-American Development Commission organized by the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, is seeking to stimulate the importation of non-competitive goods from the other American republics to the United States, increase trade among the other Americas, and encourage the development of industry in Central and South America and the Caribbean area, with particular regard to the production of consumer goods. Members of the Inter-American Development Commission are as follows:

Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Chairman*

J. Rafael Oreamuno, *Vice Chairman*

Renato de Azevedo

G. W. Magalhaes

Aníbal Jara

John C. McClintock, 5417 Department of Commerce Building, Washington, D.C., *Executive Secretary*

William F. Machold, 7203 Department of Commerce Building, Washington, D.C., *Projects Director*

Cultural Relations

GIFT OF BOOKS TO ENGLISH CENTER IN ECUADOR

An English-language library recently established by the English Center in Quito, Ecuador, will shortly receive through the American Legation there a gift of reference books and periodicals from the Department of State.

The English Center was founded by Ecuadorans and by American citizens resident in that Republic in order to promote mutual friendship and understanding between the two countries. It conducts classes in English, sponsors English-language lectures and programs, promotes the interchange of letters between students in Ecuador and in this country, and establishes contacts between students in Ecuador and American citizens resident there. Much of the support of the Center comes from the working-

people in Quito, who are eager to learn the English language and acquire a knowledge of life and thought in the United States.

The books made available to the new library by the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State include dictionaries, an encyclopedia, books on learning English, a map of the United States, the *World Almanac*, and such works as the complete writings of George Washington, Morison and Commager's two-volume work on *The Growth of the American Republic*, H. E. Stearns' *America Now*, the Federal Writers Project's *U. S. One*, R. & H. Lynd's *Middletown*, *The Oxford Book of American Verse*, Foley & Gentles' *America in Story*, and C. K. Ogden's *System of Basic English*.

ROOSEVELT FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Ten United States students soon will be selected for one-year scholarships in colleges of the other American republics, under the "Roosevelt Fellowship" program. The fellowship project, sponsored and financed by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, provides for an annual exchange of students, 10 going from the United States to the other American republics and 20 coming to the United States—one from each of the republics.

The Institute of International Education, in New York, of which Dr. Stephen Duggan is Director, administers the 30 fellowships, naming selection committees to appoint the fellows. The project has been named in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The exchanges are designed to spread in the other American nations a sympathetic understanding of the activities and culture of the United States, and,

in the United States, an understanding of the culture of the other Americas.

In addition to the 30 full scholarships, which range from \$1,200 to \$1,800, depending on the distance of travel, 41 maintenance grants have been allotted for students from the other Americas. These are awards of from \$300 to \$500 to students on partial scholarships.

Exchange candidates from the other republics must have been graduated from a *liceo* or a more advanced course. United States candidates must have bachelors degrees. All must show evidences of outstanding scholarship and character and must be able to speak, read, and write the language of the country to which they are to go. They may be of either sex.

The fellows have full freedom of choice of the courses they will take and, subject to veto of the Committee on Selections, of the place

where they will study. They will live in college dormitories and are expected to take part in extracurricular activities. They are assured of invitations to homes in the areas where they study, to bring them into as close contact as possible with the national life. All appointees sign contracts to return to their native countries on expiration of the scholarships.

Nineteen students from the other American countries already are enrolled in colleges and universities in this country under the program. Appointees from the United States will leave for their places of study in time for the beginning of the academic year in the other Americas next March.

VISIT OF DISTINGUISHED EDUCATOR FROM CHILE

[Released to the press January 15]

Monsignor Francisco Vives, Vice Rector of the Catholic University of Chile, arrived in Washington by plane on the afternoon of January 14. He is spending several weeks in this country at the invitation of the Department of State and will visit university centers in and near Washington and New York, as well as Harvard and Notre Dame.

The Catholic University of Chile, at Santiago, is one of the leading institutions of higher learning in South America, and many students attend it from the other American republics. As Vice Rector, Monsignor Vives has established there a Center of Foreign Relations to promote better inter-American understanding and friendship.

Two years ago he brought a group of Chilean students to Washington to attend the Congress of Pax Romana in the National Capital.

Monsignor Vives is author of a biography of Pope Pius XII and a recent work on the philosophy of law, his special field of interest.

The Department

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

Mr. George F. Luthringer was designated an Assistant Chief of the Financial Division, effective December 9, 1941 (Departmental Order 1009).

Mr. Laurence E. Salisbury, a Foreign Service officer of class III, was designated an Assistant Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, effective December 20, 1941 (Departmental Order 1013).

Mr. David McK. Key, a Foreign Service officer of class IV, was designated Assistant Liaison Officer in the Liaison Office, Office of the Under Secretary, effective December 29, 1941 (Departmental Order 1017).

Mr. Robert T. Pell was appointed an Assistant Chief of the Division of Current Information, effective January 1, 1942 (Departmental Order 1018).

The Foreign Service

PERSONNEL CHANGES

The nomination of Laurence A. Steinhardt, of New York, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to be Ambassador to Turkey to replace John Van A. MacMurray, who has resigned, was confirmed by the Senate on January 12, 1942.

[Released to the press January 17]

The following changes have occurred in the American Foreign Service since January 10, 1942:

The assignment of M. Williams Blake, of Columbus, Ohio, as Vice Consul at Rangoon, Burma, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Blake has been assigned as Vice Consul at Tampico, Mexico.

James E. Brown, Jr., of Sewickley, Pa., Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at London, England, has been designated Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina, and will serve in dual capacity.

Leo J. Callanan, of Dorchester, Mass., Consul at Oporto, Portugal, has been assigned as Consul at Pernambuco, Brazil.

DuWayne G. Clark, of Fresno, Calif., Assistant Commercial Attaché at Madrid, Spain, has been designated Commercial Attaché at Asunción, Paraguay.

Bernard Gufler, of Tacoma, Wash., formerly Second Secretary of Embassy at Berlin, Germany, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

The assignment of Edmund A. Gullion, of Lexington, Ky., as Vice Consul at Calcutta, India, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Gullion has been designated Third Secretary of Embassy and Vice Consul at London, England, and will serve in dual capacity.

The assignment of Frederick P. Latimer, Jr., of New London, Conn., as Consul at Johannesburg, Transvaal, Union of South Africa, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Latimer has been designated Second Secretary of Legation and Consul at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and will serve in dual capacity.

Walter J. Linthicum, of Baltimore, Md., Consul at Pernambuco, Brazil, has been assigned as Consul at Oporto, Portugal.

The assignment of Myles Standish, of New York, N. Y., as Vice Consul at Karachi, India, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Standish has been assigned as Vice Consul at Aruba, Dutch West Indies, where an American Vice Consulate is to be opened.

The assignment of Marshall M. Vance, of Dayton, Ohio, as Second Secretary of Legation at Bern, Switzerland, has been canceled.

Walter W. Wiley, of Salisbury, N. C., Vice Consul at Marseille, France, has been appointed Vice Consul at Antofagasta, Chile.

The assignment of Archer Woodford, of Paris, Ky., as Consul at Bombay, India, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Woodford has been assigned as Consul at Guatemala, Guatemala.

Treaty Information

Compiled in the Treaty Division

COMMERCE

Inter-American Coffee Agreement

Cuba

By a letter dated January 7, 1942 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the instrument of ratification by Cuba of the Inter-American Coffee Agreement, signed on November 28, 1940, was deposited with the Union on December 31, 1941.

As all the governments signatory to the agreement have now deposited their respective

instruments of ratification with the Pan American Union the agreement entered into force, under the terms of article XX, as of the date of the deposit of the Cuban ratification, i.e., December 31, 1941.

Article XX of the agreement provides that the agreement shall be ratified or approved by each of the signatory governments in accordance with its legal requirements and shall come into force when the instruments of ratification or approval of all the signatory governments have been deposited with the Pan American Union, but that if within 90 days from the date

of signature of the agreement the instruments of ratification or approval of all the signatory governments have not been deposited, the governments which have deposited their instruments of ratification or approval may put the agreement into force among themselves by means of a protocol. As all the signatory governments had not deposited their instruments of ratification or approval within the 90-day period a protocol was signed on April 15, 1941 by those countries which had ratified the agreement, namely, the United States of America, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru. The protocol brought the agreement into force among these states on April 16, 1941 pending the ratification or approval by all of the other signatory governments. The agreement and the protocol were subsequently ratified and signed by the Dominican Republic on April 30, 1941, by Ecuador on April 29, 1941, and by Nicaragua on May 13, 1941. Venezuela deposited its ratification of the agreement on July 22, 1941, and signed the protocol on August 14, 1941. The protocol was signed by Cuba on December 31, 1941, at the time of the deposit of the instrument of ratification.

The agreement will shortly be printed as Treaty Series 970.

SOVEREIGNTY

Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas

Honduras

The Acting Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter dated January 9, 1942 that the instrument of ratification by Honduras of the Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas, signed at Habana on July 30, 1940, was deposited with the Union on January 8, 1942.

Article XIX of the convention stipulates that the convention "shall enter into force when two-thirds of the American Republics have de-

posited their respective instruments of ratification". The instrument deposited by the Government of Honduras is the fourteenth ratification of the convention deposited with the Pan American Union, thereby completing the "two-thirds" provision and bringing the convention into force as of January 8, 1942.

The countries which have ratified the convention are the United States of America, October 24, 1940; Argentina, October 1, 1941, subject to the reservation made at the time of signature; Brazil, January 14, 1941; Colombia, November 5, 1941; Costa Rica, December 17, 1940; Dominican Republic, November 28, 1940; Ecuador, December 27, 1941; El Salvador, July 9, 1941; Guatemala, August 14, 1941; Haiti, August 13, 1941; Honduras, January 8, 1942; Panama, May 13, 1941; Peru, April 4, 1941; and Venezuela, October 22, 1941.

TRANSIT

Exchange of Notes With Costa Rica Regarding Inter-American Highway

[Released to the press January 16]

Through an exchange of notes signed on January 16, 1942 by the Secretary of State of the United States and the Costa Rican Minister of Public Works and Agriculture, the cooperation of the United States in the construction of the Inter-American Highway through Costa Rica was provided for. This is the first exchange of notes which has occurred under the provisions of Public Law 375 of December 26, 1941, authorizing the expenditure of 20 million dollars in cooperation with the five Central American republics and Panama in the construction of the Inter-American Highway. In accordance with the exchange of notes signed on January 16 Costa Rica will assume at least one third of the cost of the construction of the highway in Costa Rica. The remainder, not to exceed two thirds, will be borne by the United States.

The Costa Rican Minister of Public Works and Agriculture came to Washington primarily to negotiate this exchange of notes and the subsidiary agreement which he will sign with the Public Roads Administration in fulfilment of the provisions of the law.

The assurances envisaged by the law are being sought from the five other republics named in it in order that cooperation may be extended to all of them. It is expected, once these assurances have been secured and the necessary appropriations provided by Congress, that the work on the highway will be greatly accelerated.

An all-weather highway has already been completed across Guatemala. During the past year substantial progress has been made in El Salvador, where a surfaced highway has been completed over a large part of the route; in Nicaragua, where the route from Sebaco to Diriamba via Managua will soon be finished; in Costa Rica; and in Panama, where the Rio Hato road should be completed this summer.

The texts of the notes exchanged follow:

Note from the Costa Rican Minister of Public Works to the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 375 of December 26, 1941, which provides for the cooperation of the United States with the Central American republics in the construction of the Inter-American Highway, I hereby, fully authorized by my Government, beg to make formal request to participate in the cooperative plan of said construction. In this connection I wish on behalf of my Government to offer the assurances required by the Law that, with a view to receiving the cooperation envisaged in the Law, it has made commitments to assume at least one-third of the expenditures to be incurred henceforth by it and by the United States in the survey and construction of the Highway within the borders of Costa Rica. To this end it has already concluded arrangements with the Export-Import Bank of Washington by which it has received a credit now amounting to \$2,200,000 which, under its contract with the Bank, may not be expended, without the Bank's assent, for any purpose other than the construction of the Inter-American Highway. In addition, my Government owns road building equipment valued at several hundred thousand dollars which is being made available for the construction of the Inter-American Highway and which will substan-

tially increase the contribution of my Government to the construction of the Highway. I trust that these facts will constitute ample assurance that my Government has made the commitments envisaged in the law to assume at least one-third of the expenditures which are proposed to be incurred henceforth by Costa Rica and by the United States in the completion of the survey and construction of the Inter-American Highway in Costa Rica in accordance with present proposals.

I take pleasure in enclosing herewith the proper credentials.

With my highest regard, I beg [etc.]

Note from the Secretary of State to the Costa Rican Minister of Public Works, Alfredo Volio

MY DEAR MR. MINISTER:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your kind note of January 16, 1942, in which, duly authorized by your Government, you request the cooperation of the Government of the United States in the construction of the Inter-American Highway in Costa Rica, and in which you offer the assurances required by Public Law 375 of December 26, 1941, in connection with such cooperation.

I take pleasure in informing you that the assurances which you offer are satisfactory to this Government. It is consequently the intention of this Government to extend to the Costa Rican Government the cooperation envisaged in the Law, subject to the appropriation of the necessary funds by the Congress of the United States and to the receipt of the necessary assurances from the other Republics mentioned in the Law.

You are, of course, aware that by the terms of the Law the survey and construction work it authorizes shall be under the administration of the Public Roads Administration, Federal Works Agency. It is understood that you are now making a subsidiary agreement with the Administration to carry out this provision of the Law.

I wish to thank you for your courtesy in forwarding your credentials to me.

I am [etc.]

Legislation

Report of the Secretary of State, Showing Receipts and Disbursements on Account of Refunds, Allowances, and Annuities: Message From the President of the United States Transmitting a Report by the Secretary of State Showing All Receipts and Disbursements on Account of Refunds, Allowances, and Annuities for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1941. (H. Doc. 563, 77th Cong., 2d sess.) 6 pp.

Supplemental Estimate of Appropriations for the Department of State: Communication From the President of the United States Transmitting Supplemental Estimate of Appropriations for the De-

partment of State, for the Fiscal Year 1942, Amounting to \$5,000,000 [for emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service, 1942]. (H.Doc. 556, 77th Cong., 2d sess.) 2 pp.

Publications

Military Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Haiti—Signed May 23, 1941; effective May 23, 1941. Executive Agreement Series 213. Publication 1658. 11 pp. 5¢.

Diplomatic List, January 1942. Publication 1677. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

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